1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

and may talk, but not familiarly. With aged siblings the tapu is somewhat relaxed. One informant said that a brother may cook food for a sister, but not the sister for the brother because that would look as though they were married. If a man came in from the bush very tired his sister might procure some food for him, but she might not nurse him when he was ill. A brother would not avenge the rape of a sister; the father or mother's brother would do that.

Some curious abrogations of the brother-sister tapu came to light. In one family a girl named Ika was so named by her paternal grandmother after her maternal grandmother and she thereby assumed the status of the grandmother, or perhaps of a mother, to her own brother. She can approach him freely, can tend him in sickness, and generally be with him without restriction by the usual tapu. In another family Tangakinakovi, daughter of the chief Veehala and wife of Luani, being childless, was allowed to adopt Taliauli, her full brother, all brother-sister tapu being disregarded.

Cross-cousin marriage, which seems to have been common, is a violation of the brother-sister tapu. Yet a decision reached in the family councils will do away with this tapu and a man and woman who could not come into close proximity to each other by their own initiative may be married by the will of those who have the ordering of them.

There are at times evasions of the tapu. Brother and sister sometimes do covertly converse. It is considered very bad form for anyone to notice this. During my sojourn in Tonga a man came to his *tuofefine* and asked for his shirt, which in all probability she had washed for him. A European standing near overheard the man ask and jocularly remarked that the girl did not have his shirt, but had given it away. The pair fled in dismay, for being *tuongaane* and *tuofefine* to each other, they had no right to converse. The European committed a serious breach of etiquette in noting that they were conversing.

Although the observances described are those of today, they undoubtedly give a picture of the past as well. Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 147) has the following to say:

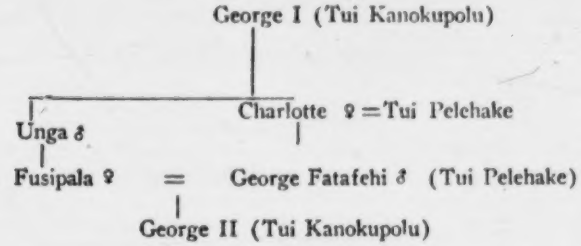
> Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz., by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

THE FAHU

As the sister is superior in rank to the brother, so also are her children, both male and female. Moreover, the sister's children are superior to the brother's children. The sister's children are *fahu* (Fijian *vasu*) to their mother's brother. They have the privilege of taking their uncle's goods,

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

(p. 281). An example of marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter follows. It is said that the other form of cross-cousin marriage, i. e., to the father's sister's daughter, occurred, but was rare.



Cross-cousin marriage is metaphorically called *takaifala* (rolling up mats), for it is said of the woman that she goes to roll up the mats of her father's sister's son. In cross-cousin marriage it was the sister's child who held the higher rank in the marriage on account of being *fahu* to his spouse. Cross-cousin marriage is to-day called *mali* (English marry) *fatongia* (duty); that is, a marriage of duty, referring to the duty of the brother's children to look after the sister's children.

A *fokonofo* is a supplementary wife or concubine brought by a bride to her husband. Should a bride select her *fokonofo* from within the family, which was the custom, they were either younger sisters, persons from the inferior or mother's side of the family, or the daughters of the father's younger brothers; apparently the daughters of the father's sisters who were superior relatives could not be taken by a bride as *fokonofo*.

The *sinifu*, or concubines, of a great chief usually occupied a single large house, where they might be visited by the chief, or whence they might be taken to the chief's house. At the chief's house lived his favorite or the wife of highest rank (*maitaki*). The term *sinifu* refers to the relation of the woman to the man, while the term *fokonofo* refers to the relation of the inferior co-wife to the superior co-wife.

Open conversational flirtations were the prevailing form of social intercourse between a man and a single woman, but never openly between a man and another man's wife. There was no indiscretion, however, in a man's making a social call upon a woman at her house while her husband was absent. The house door was always open while any of its occupants were at home, except on occasions when some peculiar tapu might rule otherwise.

When a man met a beautiful unmarried girl on the road, it was customary for him to carry on a flirtatious badinage of words with her in addition to the ordinary greeting. He could tell whether she were unmarried if she

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

were a stranger to him, only by the way she wore her hair. If she were not a married woman, but one who was no longer a virgin, there would be no means of distinguishing her from a married woman by her appearance; only a personal knowledge of the facts would give the man a right to speak to her as an unmarried girl.

A girl, when going out into unfrequented places, providing she should be a virgin, took a child along as a chaperon. This child, of either sex, might be a brother or sister or a neighbor's child. The protection was based upon the fear of scandal, as the child could not be expected to keep a secret.

Among the chiefly people a virgin was called *taahine*, or more specifically, *taupoou*. Among common people a virgin was called *finemui*. A chiefly girl, when she ceased to be a virgin, was still called *taahine* but not *taupoou*. The daughter of a high matapule might also be called a *taupoou* and also bore the name *taahine*. The term *taupoou* was not applied to only the oldest virgin in a family, but to any and all virgins in the family. A commoner girl no longer a virgin was called *finemotua*.

If a young man refrained from cohabiting with women previous to his marriage, he was not highly desirable among the unmarried girls. But if a young man was reputed to have a wide sexual experience previous to marriage, regardless of his physical attractions or lack of them, he was held in high estimation by old and young and was especially admired by young unmarried women. Girls were warned to keep away from him, intimately, but taught to admire him. Such a man was said to be wise and was expected to treat his bride with more consideration during the first nights of married life.

Marriage Ceremonies

The marriage ceremony is to-day called *katoanga mali* (*katoanga*, festival; *mali*, English "marry").

The ceremony was divided into two parts: the first taking place before and immediately after cohabitation; the second, when the first born child was sufficiently strong to be moved, if necessary, from one village to another (generally when it was about two months old).

This second part of the ceremony was always held at the home of the man's father, who designated the time. The child remained at the house of his mother's people during the entire performance, taking no part in it whatsoever. In this respect the affair seems to be complimentary to the parents rather than strictly in honor of the child itself.

The following is a description of the first ceremony, the marriage proper:

Preceding the festival, a large representation of relatives of both the bridegroom and the bride assembled at the village or community where the bridegroom's father resided. The young man took up his temporary residence with his father, if not already

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Certain natural phenomena, though not being regarded as ominous, sometimes caused alarm. Earthquakes were believed to be caused by the movements of one of the Maui who is thought to support the earth. The apparent movement of the sun to the northern tropic was observed, though not the motive for alarm or ceremony. When the sun was farthest north the season was called *faahi tau momoko* (cold season). It marked the beginning of the year and the time of yam planting. When the sun was at the southern tropic the season was called *faahi tau mafana* (warm season).

An expected eclipse of the moon which occurred in October, 1920, though causing no alarm, was regarded as indication of strong wind in a few days. The moon eclipse is called *mate mahina* (death of the moon). Similarly an eclipse of the sun is called *mate laa*. Apparently the infrequency of sun eclipses is one reason why they cause alarm. One occurred in 1918 and was evidently the first seen by many people. Although they had been forewarned by a visiting astronomer, intense alarm prevailed. The informant who had never seen one before, and who was in the bush at the time, ran for his village as fast as possible. He said the ancient belief was that the sun was a god and was angry with people and showed anger by going out. Evidently some of this belief still survived in 1918.

The activities of certain birds and lizards were believed to be especially pregnant with indications of forthcoming events. The Tongans, even to-day, take cognizance of these movements to an extent that suggests the Malaysian observation of animal movements. The gecko (*moko*) is everywhere in Tonga an omen animal. It is regarded particularly as a barometer of impending weather conditions. If it remains quiet, good weather is indicated, if it is very active, a storm is imminent. This little lizard, sacred to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, was taken aboard vessels anciently as a barometer. Another weather indicator is the frigate bird (*lofa*), rare in Tonga, whose appearance presages a gale or hurricane. The barking of dogs at night without evident cause is a sign of the presence of ghosts. Dogs bore place and personal names anciently and were fondled and talked to by their masters (usually chiefs). There was no belief that it was dangerous to address conversation to a dog.

Birds played by far the most important part as omen givers. The calling of the owl (*lulu*) immediately after lamplighting is a sign of a pregnant woman in the house, and if the owl calls over a house in the middle of the night, it is a sign of impending death. If the gallinule (*kalae*) cries close to a house, it is also considered a notification of impending death. A number of *fuleheu* birds (*Ptilotis carunculata*) flying together in a particular formation is called *fata* (bier) and is a sign of death. Another evil omen of the *fuleheu*, called *sipa*, consists in a number of them sounding the note of alarm. If a cock crows, soon after the time when the fowls

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For an inferior person (petty chief, matapule, or commoner) to walk by a chief's house smoking is an affront; also riding horseback, carrying an umbrella, wearing a turban (*fau*), or having a garland (*sisi*) around the neck, although a *sisi* around the waist is permitted. Conversation must stop in passing a chief's house. Breaches are subject to punishment by thrashing, often by the chief himself. The conception of a supernatural punishment seems not to be entertained.

The Hihifo district of Tongatabu is tapu. No one is allowed to sing or to yell, either in settlements or in the bush. Drums may not be beaten. People must not run about in the town, and all must wear ragged mats (*taovala*) as signs of humility. These rules are enforced because of the Tui Kanokupolu and are observed in Hihifo whether the Tui Kanokupolu is in Hihifo or in Nukualofa. Again no supernatural punishment followed a breach of these rules.

OCCUPATIONAL CEREMONIAL

Christianity has been too long established is Tonga to permit of much information being obtained to-day concerning religious practices for the furtherance of various occupations. Apparently the greatest of all ceremonials of this character was the *inasi*, or Harvest Festival, which obviously had as its aim the perpetuation of agricultural welfare. It was in honor of Hikuleo, but the offerings were brought to the Tui Tonga, whom Farmer (23, p. 129) says was the high priest of this deity, a statement which cannot be verified to-day. Cook (19, p. 336) witnessed an *inasi* ceremony at which the Tui Tonga presided. The *inasi* is also described by Wilson (65, 66) and by Mariner (40,41).

Boat building, fishing, pigeon snaring, and presumably even rat shooting were preceded by ceremonial observances, but what these ceremonies were I did not learn except in the most casual way, as the following fragmentary notes indicate. Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 59, 60) describes observances in connection with shark fishing.

Just what ceremonies were performed at the launching of a vessel I did not learn. Before a new vessel could be boarded by a woman, however, a ceremony called *hopokivaka* was performed. This took place at or after the launching and was usually performed by a woman, though sometimes by a man.

The first shark caught in a new fishing boat (*tafaanga*) is called *tokialiu*. A celebration in honor of this event bears the same name. When five sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga* another ceremony occurs, called *fakatoululuto*. When ten sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga*, a third ceremony takes place, called *fakatouluhoko*. Thereafter sharks may be caught without further ado.

In pigeon snaring a man stood on the lookout for the pigeons at the mound. At their first appearance in the distance, looking only as big as the *nono* (defined by Baker as an insect and by the informant Havili as an insect smaller than an ant), dances

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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discover, being directed by the voice, Finow and the rest of the company, seated like himself. Nevertheless, as it was desirable to have a stronger illumination, Mr. Mariner dived out again, and procuring his pistol, primed it well, tied plenty of *gnatoo* tight round it, and wrapped the whole up in a plaintain leaf: he directed an attendant to bring a torch in the same way. Thus prepared, he re-entered the cavern as speedily as possible, unwrapped the *gnatoo*, a great portion of which was perfectly dry, fired it by the flash of the powder, and lighted the torch. The place was now illuminated tolerably well, for the first time, perhaps, since its existence. It appeared (by guess) to be about 40 feet wide in the main part, but which branched off, on one side, in two narrower portions. The medium height seemed also about 40 feet*. The roof was hung with stalactites in a very curious way, resembling, upon a cursory view, the gothic arches and ornaments of an old church. After having examined the place, they drank cava, and passed away the time in conversation upon different subjects. Among other things, an

* Jeremiah Higgins thinks it was not near so high: he had the light of the sun setting opposite to the entrance, and refracted through the water. Mr. Mariner had a superior light, from his torch.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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old mataboole, after having mentioned how the cavern was discovered, viz. by a young chief in the act of diving after a turtle, related an interesting account of the use which this chief made of his accidental discovery. The circumstances are as follow.

In former times there lived a tooi (governor) of Vavaoo, who exercised a very tyrannical deportment towards his people; at length, when it was no longer to be borne, a certain chief meditated a plan of insurrection, and was resolved to free his countrymen from such odious slavery, or to be sacrificed himself in the attempt: being however treacherously deceived by one of his own party, the tyrant became acquainted with his plan, and immediately had him arrested. He was condemned to be taken out to sea and drowned, and all his family and relations were ordered to be massacred, that none of his race might remain. One of his daughters, a beautiful girl, young and interesting, had been reserved to be the wife of a chief of considerable rank, and she also would have sunk, the victim of the merciless destroyer, had it not been for the generous exertions of another young chief, who a short time before had discovered the cavern of Hoonga. This discovery he had kept within his breast a profound secret, reserving it as a place of retreat

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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and matabooles who related the foregoing account, some believed it firmly, others left it as they found it, none positively disbelieved it. Mr. Mariner related to them our scriptural and traditionary account of Cain and Abel, and expressed his opinion, that they must have received their information either from the missionaries, or from some Papalangi at an early period, whom accident had thrown among them; but some still persisted that it was an original tradition of their own, whilst others owned there was so great a similarity between the two accounts, that they were disposed to believe they had received theirs from us, perhaps two or three or four generations back. But such things do not very often form a subject of conversation among them; consequently their knowledge and belief of these matters (as they have no writings) become very vague, incongruous, and uncertain.

They have several other accounts of the origin of mankind, or rather of the first inhabitants of Tonga; but most of them are not only ridiculous but very confused and indeterminate, and, as Mr. Mariner believes, many are of no greater antiquity than the present generation, and invented perhaps for the purpose of passing away time for lack of better conversation, most of the natives being very fond of inventing

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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sidered an outrage, is not looked upon as a crime, unless the woman be of such a rank as to claim respect from the perpetrator.

When all things are taken into consideration regarding the connubial system of these people, their notions of chastity, and their habits in respect of it, we shall have no reason to say but what they keep tolerably well within those bounds which honour and decency dictate*;

* It may be objected that such habits as we have been describing must often lead to a disregard of public decency, and which therefore must be very bad for the morals of the younger branches of society of both sexes, by making them acquainted with what they ought not to have any idea of, before the voice of nature whispered the important secret. In reply to this, we must observe, that no nation can well pay greater attention to public decency than the Tonga people: but at the same time we acknowledge, that conversation is often intermingled with allusions, even when women are present, which could not be allowed in any decent society in England: this, however, is never done if married women, or chiefs superior to the speaker, are near; because it would be disrespectful: but such subjects are not the result of depraved notions, they are rather the offspring of the imagination, and occasionally hazarded as vehicles of joke and humour. Notwithstanding this, the blush of female modesty suffuses the cheek in these islands as well as elsewhere, although the occasion of it is not so much considered an offence: though the females are very deficient in artificial modesty, they amply make up for it by the more genuine feeling of natural bashfulness. Those among us whose morality is almost skin deep, and who make a vast account of outside appearances, will perhaps condemn them for this.

In respect to children of both sexes, it must be acknow-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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Mariner never witnessed one during the whole time he was there. Conversation with people who have travelled is another great source of amusement to them: they are very fond of tales and anecdotes, and there are many individuals who are tolerably skilful in inventing these things, which are then mostly of a burlesque or humourous tendency, but always given as fables. The kind of conversation, which appears to afford them most pleasure is, concerning the manners and customs of the people of Papalangi, as being not only strange and wonderful, but also true! They employ themselves in conversation, not only at any time during the day, but also at night: if one wakes, and is not disposed to go to sleep again, he wakens his neighbour to have some talk *: by and by, perhaps, they are all roused, and join in the conversation: it sometimes happens that the chief has ordered his cooks, in the evening, to bake a pig, or some fish, and bring it in hot in the middle of the night, with some yams: in this case the torches are again lighted, and they all get up to eat their share; after which they retire to their mats; the torches are put out; some go to sleep, and others, perhaps, talk till day-light. The first appearance of day is the

* Sometimes two or three, at other times thirty or forty, may be sleeping in the same house.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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his possessions, and in the most earnest manner entreated him to accept of something. Being thus strongly pressed, the moderate Tootáwi chose a wearing-mat of the kind called *giē fow* *, and this was the only article that the eloquence and kindness of Finow could persuade him to accept of. The king left him with sentiments of admiration, and shortly after confirmed the orders that had been formerly given to prevent any body molesting him.

Thus lived Tootáwi for some three or four years afterwards; but one day he was found lying on the ground, stretched out dead within his cave.

But to return to our subject; about mid-day it is usual to have another meal, when the chiefs receive a number of presents, of different kinds of provisions, from their dependents or friends, which the matabooles share out. In the afternoon some again join in conversation, others go out shooting rats, &c. In the evening they have dancing and singing, which is often continued till very late at night, on which occasion they burn torches, each being held by a man, who, after a time, is relieved by another. These dances are generally kept up for about four hours after dark. When no dances are

* A certain kind of wearing-mat used chiefly in canoes, as it is not liable to be injured by sea-water. See p. 280.

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THE TONGA LANGUAGE.

Valoo, and Afob, and Fotoo, and Alo, and all the chiefs and matabooles of Vavaoo. 192

29. FILI-FILI HE MO MANACO; *fili-fili*, choose; *he mo manaco*, your wish; i. e. take your choice. 634 537

In Finow's speech, it will be observed, that the particle *ne* is occasionally attached to the ends of words for the sake of euphony, but this has been noticed before, (9).

The dialogue that immediately follows serves to show a few of the more colloquial phrases. It is the substance of an actual conversation at Vavaoo, between two young chiefs, one of whom has just arrived from Hapai. The other pieces of composition are what have already been given in the English, in the body of the work, and may be referred to, to assist the sense: the small numbers refer to the rules and idioms which have just been given. The words in the Tonga part that are put in Italics are either mere expletives, or else cannot be expressed in English without sounding so uncouthly as to darken the sense. The English words in parentheses are such as are not expressed in Tonga. 521 192

Malo felów my.	(11) Welcome (your) voyage hither.
Malo nofo mo he egi.	Well done (your) remaining with your chiefs.
Na ger how anifé me Hapái?	Did you come when from Hapai?
Gooa bo eoa *he* mow how; na mow mohe anibó gi Motoo.	Are days two (since) our coming*: we slept last night at Motoo.
Coe vaca gnaholo he vaca?	Is the canoe swift, your canoe?
Seoóke! cóia be taba gooa gnaholo he felów Hapai.	Eh! it's (the) only one is swift (13) (in) the fleet of Hapai.
Low gita coe vaca lahi a Toobó Toa gooa gnaholo be taba.	Think I the canoe large of Toobo Toa is swift (the) only one.
O'ooa! co mow vaca ia.	Hold! is our canoe that.
Iō! cohai fooa *he* mo cow-vaca.	Ah indeed! who all (7) your crew?
Coe mataboole co Mooala, bea mo Afoo, mo cow-tangata a Voogi.	The mataboole Mooala, also and Afoo, and the suite of Voogi.
Cohái he cow-fafine gooa how?	Who the females (that) are come?
Coe fafine co Atoo, bea mo Latoo Lyfotoo Iea, mo—.	The woman Atoo, also and Latoo Lyfótoo Iea, and—
Seoóke! aena be ótóéfooa he mo cow-fafine: nai how ia coihá? low-gita gooa lata be ia gi Hapai.	Ah! she only (is) beautiful (among) (7) your women: has she come for what? I think is (1) contented only she with Hapai.
Co ho mōóni! coe fonnooa be gooa	True! (14) is the *land* only con-

* *Our coming*, here means beginning to come or setting off from Hapai.

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halata ia, ca iky' tegger iloa gooa mamana gi he tamachí co Papani.

Ne-ne enne how! Lamoochia he tama. Io! cohái mo ia.

Coe fafine co Paloo, bea mo fafine Tonga co Fekika.

Coe fafine Tonga! na mo gi Tonga.

Na mow gi-ai; co gimówtóloo na capachia he colo co Nookoo Nookoo.

Nai toca lahi *he* mo cow-tow? cohai mo gimótóloo.

Co gimówtóloo be, bea moa cow-tangata a Ata me Hihifo.

Cohái fooa gooa cafo?

Gooa toca lahi *he* mow cafo; coe toonga jiena fa fanna he colo: gooa mate he tangata co Falo, bea mo Boboto; be gooa cafo covi he tama co Powfooó, bea Panafi.

Seooké! mow-mow he toonga tangata toa.

Co ho möóni! *gooa* mow nofo manatoo be giate gimówtóloo.

Coe fafine me-fe, he fafine na ger low my.

He fafine co Fekika?

Cóiabé.

Coe fafine me Mafanga; iky' tegger manatoo he fafine mattahooa gi he abi a Motoo Lalo? nai taggi mama he bo na tow mohe gi-ai.

Nai tamachí he fafine cóia!

Nai ge tamachí, lolotonga ho nofo gi Tonga, be gooa foo loa ho nofo gi Vavaoo.

Coe tama ahái he fafine cóia?

Coe tama he mataboole co Fotoo.

Coe low, gooa toa obito ia.

Coe möóni! nai toluo enne cafo he tow tow gi Nookoo Nookoo.

tents her, for not (I) shall you know (she) is enamoured with the young man Papani.

No wonder her coming! (how I) envy the youth! well! who with her?

The woman Paloo, also and the Tonga woman Fekika.

The Tonga woman! have been you at Tonga?

We have been there; (they were) ourselves (who) did besiege the fortress (of) Nookoo Nookoo.

Was it a body large (?) your army? who (were) with you.

(There were) we only, also and the adherents of Ata from Hihifo.

Who all are wounded?

Are persons many, our wounded: the men (were) clever (at the) bow, (of) the fortress: are killed, the man Falo, also and Boboto; and are wounded badly the youth Powfooó, also Panafi.

Alas! destroyed are (many) brave men.

True! we remain regretting only towards them.

The woman from where; the woman you spoke to me (about).

The woman Fekika?

The same.

The woman from Mafanga: not shall (I) you remember the woman beautiful at the house of Motoo Lalo? she held the light, the night we slept there.

Was a child the woman that!

She was yet a child, during your stay at Touga, and is (now) very long your residence at Vavaoo.

The child whose, the woman that?

Is the child (of) the mataboole Fotoo.

They say, is brave exceedingly he.

It is true! he had three his wounds (in) our battle at Nookoo Nookoo.

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THE TONGA LANGUAGE.

Te mo wo afé gi Hapai?	Shall you go when to Hapai?
Iky' teoo ilou: coe low, te mow tatali heni bo valoo bea ongofooloo.	Not shall I know (1): they say shall we remain here eight or ten days.
E'ooa-ger ger aloo teoo atoo he mea ma éooco fae gi-ai.	When you are about to go, I will give (to you) some things for my mother there.
Gooa lillé.	Very well!
Tow wo gi he cava gi lotoá?	Let us go to the cava within the fencing.
Io, tow wo.	Yes, let us go.

The following is the story of Tangaloa and his two sons, related p. 115, of this volume. The sentences are here put into paragraphs, the better to assist the eye in distinguishing the English for each principal word.

Tooooa caky' he fonnooa.

Coe hotooa co Tangaloa, mo enne foha toca * ooa na-now nofo gi Bolotoo.

Now nofo-nofo bea low leva Tangaloa gi enne foha toca-ooa,

Aloo ginóooa mo ho ohana, mo nonofo gi mama gi Tonga.

" Vahe ooa bo fonnooa, be mo nonofo gehe-gehe:" now aloo leva.

He hingoa he jiena lahi co Toobó; he hingoa he jiena chi, co Vaca Aców-ooli.

Coe tama boto obito; co ia na tomooa gnahi he togi, moe cuola, moe papalangi, moe jiawta.

Coe tama, fy gehe obito, co Toobó; facca bico-bico.

Na noto eva-eva beia, moe mohe, moe mauaco obito he gnáooe enne towgete.

Fioo he cawle enne mea, manatoo

First peopling the land.

The god Tangaloa, and his sons two, did they dwell at Bolotoo.

They (had) dwelt (a long time) when spoke accordingly Tangaloa to his sons two,

Go both, with your wives, and dwell in the world at Tonga.

" Divide (into) two the land, and you dwell separately:" they went accordingly.

The name (of) the person large; (i. e. the elder) (was) Toboo; the name (of) the person little; (i. e. the younger) (was) Vaca Acowooli.

Was the young man (the latter) wise exceedingly; was he did first make axes, and the beads, and the papalangi (cloth), and the looking-glass.

The young man did differently very, (viz.) Toobo; (he was) lazy.

Remained walking about only he; and sleeping, and envying exceedingly the works (of) his elder brother.

Tired (of) begging his things, (he)

* Toca is the sign of the plural number of intelligent beings. See NOUNS.

[p. 377]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

STORIES

INTRODUCTION

The Tongan is an incurable conversationalist. He is a fine orator, and a critical judge of public speaking, equally gifted in conversation. Sociable, humorous, keen-witted, he is admirable in the give-and-take of conversation and banter. A joke is rewarded with peals of laughter. An oddity is summed up in a pointed phrase. Tongans are keen and swift judges of character. A salient feature in the stranger's appearance or character is quickly seized upon. These people have a strong vein of satiric humor which soon strips off a man's disguises; but is not unkindly, and is equally ready to do justice to his virtues. Intelligent and interested in the great world, they welcome into the circle of conversation the foreigner, or the native who has travelled or is able to read the newspapers, and relish his accounts of lands and events outside their own little kingdom.

In ordinary social intercourse, no less than on great ceremonial occasions, the Tongan is remarkable for his dignified courtesy. The lowest born, as well as the chief, has a refinement of manners, which is without servility, and makes his behavior free from embarrassment, even in the presence of the highest chiefs. It is safe to venture the guess that a badly behaved Tongan has spent much time in one of the European settlements. Tongan social usages are strict in their demands, and this unembarrassed correctness of behavior, free from shyness or effrontery, is not a little striking. The foreigner who has spent many happy years with these people must not omit to express his appreciation of the kindly forbearance, not unmixed with amusement—for the Tongan cannot resist a joke—with which the social lapses of the stranger are overlooked, nor the frequent invitation to dispense with some usage which might be irksome to him.

Story-telling is largely in the domain of the older women. The general term for a tale is *fananga*. An institution like the Maori colleges, *whare whananga* (custodians of sacred lore), seems not to have existed among the Tongans. The stories in this work, and in Gifford's Tongan Myths and Tales (22) are *fananga*. It will be seen that the subjects of many are the old gods and kindred topics; but the compositions of a modern novelist would also be *fananga*. A name applied especially to tales of the old gods, creation myths, and the like, is *tala tupua*, which seems to mean either tale of the long ago or tale of mysterious powers, the divine, supernatural. There is a scrap of verse which may possibly refer to prize-giving for story-telling.

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of banana stem was said to be joined to the hibiscus. A strip of the banana stem of course makes a very poor ligature, being loose fibered and brittle.

41. Hu mata niu: Entering eye of nut.

There are three depressions at the top of the coconut, but only one of these marks a hole. The unskilled person might try to open the nut by piercing one or other of the two false eyes, but the experienced man goes for the right hole. Hence the expression means to get right on the spot, but is used in the bad, or at all events unpopular, sense of kindness confined to one's own immediate relatives or friends; kindness confined to one particular spot.

42. Kai kape fifiji: Eating hot *kape* (*Arum costatum*).

One who has eaten a piece of this root at the pungent stage of its growth will find his mouth so burnt that he will not be likely to join in the conversation and laughter of those about him. This picture of the man sitting silent with his stinging mouth is used of one who, ashamed of a wrong done by him, or for some such reason, sits taciturn in the company of others.

43. Koe vaavaa he koe tagata: Branchy, for 'tis man.

Man, with the wide and numerous ramifications of his relationships, is the most branchy of all things. "Do you call so-and-so a many branched thing? Why, it is nothing compared to man."

44. Malakia a moojipo: The *moojipo* trodden down.

This plant is frequently found in the road-ways, but lives on in spite of being walked upon. So the *moojipo* has passed into a proverb of that which bears up stoutly against ill-treatment and adversity: comes up smiling after every blow.

45. Mamalu a mohuku: Overshadowing of grass.

One is overshadowed by forest trees, and this means literally one who undertakes to make a clearing on land where apparently large trees are standing, and finds that the "trees" are but weak and easily cut plants, "mere grass." So of any task seemingly formidable which, when undertaken, proves easy.

46. Motu lou-tou: Broken *tou* leaf.

The leaf of the *tou* (*Cordia aspera*) is very brittle: a slight pull snaps the leaf completely asunder. So used of that which is broken right across, completely severed.

47. Nonofo ae makahunu moe niu motuu: The *makahuna* (hard volcanic rock) living with the ripe coconut.

These rocks were used for making the stone adzes and were handy for splitting open a coconut, and breaking it up if necessary. The phrase,

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239. Unga toho ngeeji: Hermit crab dragging shell. 539 825 461

The hermit crab, burdened as he is with the shell of some other creature, makes only slow progress when he moves. This expression is used of one who is slow in his work or movements.

240. Koe loli foki e vau: The sea-slug (*Holothuria atra*) anyway will be scraped. 539 252 226 136 521

This sea-slug is found in great numbers on the reefs; before it is eaten its outer bitter skin is scraped off. If those who go out on the reef for shell-fish and the like fail in finding anything else they are sure to be able to get some sea-slugs to scrape. Used of conversation which failing of topics comes round to some thread-bare subject or well-worn scandal.

241. Pulou kema: Veiled with a clam-shell. 539 735 571 167 237

Used to one who is ashamed to make a request. It is like saying "put a clam-shell over your face so that it cannot be seen and then beg for what you want." Also used of one who is very ready at begging things from others. He is as though he had no shame, as though his face were always shielded from observation. (Compare No. 395.)

242. Tafola vetevete afi: *Tafola* scattering fire. 539 252 857

The *tafola* is a kind of crab which is cooked by being thrown alive into the embers and whose death agony is marked by violent struggles which scatter the fire. The expression is used of a disobedient child who apparently makes a moral dispersal of his elders' commands analogous to the displacing of the fire by the luckless crab.

243. Takanga a pipi mo kahi: Companionship of the *pipi* and *kahi*. 539 825 571

The *pipi* and the *kahi* are two shell-fish which are often found together, but the *kahi* devours the *pipi*. It is like the companionship of a simpleton with a sharper who fleeces him. Baker translates the phrase: "To make a pet or comrade of one who will cause trouble or pain." (Compare No. 47.)

244. Tanu a uu: The burying of the robber crab, or the robber crab buries himself. 539 825

The robber crab (*Birgus latro*), burrows into the sand and buries himself, often for months at a time. He remains under ground so long that one might think he was dead but one day he comes again to the surface. So used of a thing that is long out of sight but at length comes again to light.

245. Tonuhia ae kaloaa ka koe vaka: The *kaloaa* is in the right but it is the boat. 539 825 183 36

The *kaloaa* is a shell-fish (*Arca scapha*?) which does not move about, unlike the boat which goes and comes at will. So if any disagreement

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285. Toki tau ae vaka e:

It is difficult to render this proverb literally. As nearly as possible it would be "The boat has but now reached land," but more in accord with the nuance of the Tongan phrase would be an appreciative "My word, the boat has made land at last. It is illustrated by a boat which has struck heavy weather and been forced to run for shelter to some port other than that for which she is making. At last, however, she is able to make the right harbor; the passengers and crew can go ashore for now they have really made the land and are not as before merely seeking a temporary shelter where they do not wish to be.

286. Tuai mei uta: Slow from the land.

The idea is that of delay in a place where one is comfortably placed and has occupation. One may keep a boat waiting while he is seeing to his affairs on shore, but there is more sense in spending time in a place where one has resources at his disposal than in wasting it in the condition of helplessness in which men find themselves at sea.

287. Tuku mo fai la: Letting down and making sail.

A busy port where boats are constantly coming and going. One boat no sooner comes to an anchorage and lowers her sail than another leaves her moorings and hoists her sail. Refers to that which is always busy and on the move. No sooner is one job finished than another is started, like a boat which accomplishes one voyage only to shortly commence another trip.

288. Tuu e la mo poupou: The sail standing with support.

In the Tongan sailing canoe a support was used to strengthen the mast. The sense of the phrase is to take every precaution; not only hoist your sail but see to it that it stands as firmly as possible. Applied generally with this meaning of doing everything to secure stability, success, safety.

289. Uta lea i vaka: Land speaking in boat.

A landsman offering advice or giving orders in a boat.

290. Vaka ki ua: (Making a) boat of neck or shoulders.

The boat is the means of carrying burdens but inland a boat is of no use, so that the neck or shoulders have to be used for this purpose.

291. Vakavaka mua: First boat.

The picture is that of a fast-sailing boat which out-distances other boats and reaches harbor first. Applied to one who is ever ready to speak. Before anyone else can say anything he thrusts in his advice or opinion.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS

292. Aho faka-ua: Double day.

Used of those times of the month when the moon is so bright that, even after the sun has set, there is sufficient light to perform outside tasks, go journeys, and the like.

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539 152 **393. Hange ha matai fana hala:** Like the face of a man who has missed his aim.

201 521 Such a man will be ashamed of his poor shot (with gun or bow and arrows), and may attempt to hide his confusion with inconsequent talk. Used of someone who has done what he is ashamed of, and whose shame is betrayed in his face and talk.

539 481 828 **394. Hange ha tangitofuhia:** Like a bewildered diver.

Tangitofuhia is used of the bleeding from nose and ears caused by staying a long time under water. In this place it seems rather to refer to a partial loss of consciousness resulting perhaps from striking the head or of staying under water too long, which renders the diver unable to find his way again to the surface. The unfortunate diver will swim about at random in his vain efforts to come up. Applied to one who wanders aimlessly about, or whose thoughs are erratic and disjointed.

539 571 157 **395. Hange kuo takai kapa hono lae:** As though his forehead were sheathed in metal.

Kapa is the local variation of copper, and is used for metal generally. This would seem to be altogether modern, probably suggested by Biblical language, though the same idea of hardy shamelessness is expressed in the Tongan phrase "Veiled with clam-shell." (See No. 241.)

539 571 522 **396. Kamo lalo:** Making secret signs.

Not strictly a proverb; it means that a number of people sitting together one is ironically complimenting another, or in some other way fooling him, at the same time making signs to the rest of the company and thus admitting them into the joke. It is used very much like the Australianism "pulling his leg."

539 152 201 **397. Katakata a nifo tea:** Smiling white teeth.

This is what Uncle Remus calls "a fit of the dry grins." A man may try to cover his shame or confusion with a smile; his teeth will be showing white as though he were smiling but the real feeling of his heart is far from laughter.

539 152 **398. Lau lau louhulu:** Fingering, fingering dried leaves.

A man who is ashamed or embarrassed is likely to break off a piece of the dried leaves with which the houses are floored and keep twisting it about in his hands as he talks; if outside of the house he will pick up any stick or other such thing that happens to be at hand.

[461] So used generally of doing some more or less irrelevant thing to cover up deficiencies, or to hide one's shame and embarrassment, just as a man who is behind with his work may start hustling round to give the impression that he has been hard at it for hours.

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440. Pele tonoi: An adulterous favorite; one who returns the kindness of another by debauching his wife. 539 837 571

441. He oku fola fala kae alea e kainga: For the mats are spread and kin are talking. 539 593

The mats are the sleeping mats, and the picture is that of intimate domestic converse between those who may freely declare their minds without fearing the anger of their auditors, who, being their own kin, will stand even unfavorable criticism. Far different is this intercourse from the circumspection which must be observed in addressing the great of the land without the family circle. 602 [576]

442. Talatala i fale: Speaking in the house, that is, in the privacy of the home, and among close kin, as for example the admonition of a father to his son. 539 521 593 602

443. Tala loto fale: Telling inside house.

This saying does not seem to be known, at least not very generally known, nowadays. Baker renders it: "To speak evil; to speak to incite to evil." Evidently the idea is of taking the opportunity of private intercourse to utter things which one would not like to say before many auditors. 539 521

444. Apijia tae lava: Ceremony that does not come off.

Applied, for example, to a man who writes to a girl, or otherwise tries to win her for his wife, but is unsuccessful in his suit. The word *apijia*, which is probably connected with *api*, home, indicates that which one does for himself, for his own home. 539 584

445. Apitanga a lalahi: Camp of grown up people.

Used of a place where grown people only are living together without any of the trouble and care incident to the presence of children. A boat's crew is sometimes thus spoken of. 539 571

446. Fangu malingi i fale lahi: Calabash poured out in big house. 539

The calabash is the receptacle in which the sweet scented oil for anointing the body was kept, and the name has come to be applied to the oil itself. Whether in this phrase we translate *fangu* by calabash or by oil the meaning is the same. The *fale lahi*, big house, is the house in which the young men used to live together. The phrase indicates the holding of something in common. If one man took out his bottle of oil to anoint himself another and then another might use it after him until perhaps the oil was finished. No offence, however, would be taken at this, as the owner would not assert his private rights against his fellow-lodgers in the big house. 415 302 575 571

447. Kaumea kaumea faingamea: Friends, friends quarreling. 539

The reduplication of the word *kaumea* (friends) indicates a long continued comradeship; but it is at last broken by strife. 572

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539 521 **472. Tupua tala kia tamaiki:** Riddle told to children.

Used of a secret that is not kept. If the answer to the riddle is told to children it will not be long before everybody else knows it too.

539 521 **473. Jio e mata kae hoka e tala:** The eye is seeing but the speech is wounding (stabbing).

571 578 Used of those who are speaking ill of another quite unconscious that the person defamed is looking on and listening to ill words spoken of himself. As an illustration the story of Muni is quoted. This legendary hero returning home at night is arrested at the door by hearing his foster-parents within discussing himself very much to his disadvantage.

474. Longo moe loto. Silent with the heart, or silent and the heart.

Used of one who is saying nothing but who has bad feeling in his heart.

475. Tala i hanga mai: Telling while looking at me.

Used of one who speaks fair and friendly words to another, but concealed in his heart are sentiments of a very different sort. A's real feelings towards B are very different from those expressed in his actual conversation with B.

539 521 **476. Aau e mala kehe kae tuku be hoto mala:** To explicate the misfortune of another but disregard my own misfortune.

Used of one who has much to say about the evils and misfortunes of other people, but who passes over his own in silence. *Mala*, translated as misfortune, has sometimes express reference to death.

539 521 571 **477. Fakahaohao mua:** Taking care, heading off, beforehand.

This is used of one who has a visitor whom he guesses has come to ask some favor which he is unwilling to grant. Before the conversation has got round to the point where the request will be advanced he talks in such a way as to make the petition difficult. For example, divining that his visitor has come to beg seed yams he forestalls him by remarking that he has had very bad luck with his yams this season, that they have all gone rotten, and that he does not know where to get seed to plant his garden. (See No. 478.)

478. Lavelave mua: Getting in ahead.

Like No. 477 refers to one who staves off a request which he does not wish to grant.

539 537 **479. Leveleva e malanga kae tau atu:** The speech is long but (may it) go home to you (my hearers).

This used to be a common termination of the speeches made by the *matapules* in the presence of great chiefs. Used generally it has its obvious meaning of a hope that what has been urged or asked for by the speaker will be done or granted.

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480. Tala tae fai tuunga: Talk without making standing place, that is, to report something without adducing grounds of belief. 539 829 521

481. Tala tae fakaejia: Talk without putting a handle to it, that is, to tell something without adducing any proof or grounds of belief.

Baker understands the "handle" to one's talk to refer to appropriate action following on words, and translates the phrase, "To say and do not; to say one thing but do the contrary." The expression probably lent itself to both uses.

482. Tauange mo koe: I sincerely desire of you. 539 521

This is hardly a proverbial expression but is freely used in earnest entreaty.

483. Vale tala vale: Fool telling fool; one fool upbraiding another for his folly.

Used like similar expressions in English. (See No. 427.)

483a. Oku longo a Tonga: Tonga is silent.

Tongans are not in the habit of talking while eating and so this phrase is applied jocularly to a party of Tongans sitting silent at a meal. It is said to have been first applied by Fijians. [264]

DISEASE AND MEDICINE

484. Avanga kai ate: Possession (by a spirit) consuming liver. 539 826

The liver is reckoned the seat of life and of at least some of the passions. The term *avanga* is applied to those illnesses which are caused by demonic possessions. Proverbially this phrase is applied to the yearning and distress of intense love. 753 787

It is worthy of note that in ceremonies the liver of a slaughtered pig is taken and presented to the chief. This is stated to be a presentation to the chief of the whole of the pig's life. (See also No. 485.) [832] [623] [825]

485. Kuo toona hoku ate: My liver is baked. 539 826

This indicates distress. My life is consumed, wasted away.

486. Foki mei he uhi: Returning from the *uhi*. 539

Restoration to health from an apparently hopeless sickness. The *uhi* *(Evodia hortensis)* is largely used in native medicine, so largely that it perhaps stands here as the type of a drug which will be tried without much expectation of its proving efficacious when the practitioners are at their wits' end. 757 [137]

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539 761 287 **501. Hange ha mate mutukia:** Like a cut off death.

Mutukia means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence *mate mutukia* means sudden, unexpected, death. The expression is used of the unexpected occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 764 **502. Matamatalelei fakafaitoka:** Beautiful like a cemetery.

People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 768 183 **503. Noo ua poaki:** Begging off being strangled.

Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarily evoked no popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 764 521 **504. Tala fai ki tano:** Speech made to burying-ground.

Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said. So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 764 763 **505. To hono aveave:** Plant his *aveave*.

A branch of the *aveave* (*Codiaeum variegatum* Pratt), was stuck into the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug. When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial. The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead, though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood meanwhile on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be postponed till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 765 276 574 43, **506. Tuui tae fakakava:** Visiting mourners without kava.

In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it is customary to take gifts to the mourners, particularly to present them with

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539 565 534 291 the waist, and with the outside end rather high up on the left side of the front of the body. This whole dress covers the body much further up than does the ordinary *tula* or waist-cloth. It is said that a foreigner called Fauolo went to live in the island of Haafeva in Haapai and that his daughter bore a son to a chief belonging to the Tui Tonga's family. A child who is chiefly on one side only is said to be *ila, ila* to, or of, such a chief. Fauolo's grandson gave himself the airs of a great chief, and this phrase is the rebuke administered to him by chiefs whose birth was noble on both sides. The expression may be used generally as a rebuff to those who wish to pass themselves off as something greater than they really are but is especially the taunt of chiefs whose blood is chiefly on both the father's and the mother's side to chiefs whose birth is plebeian on one side.

539 642 578 **539. Pule faaoa:** Rule violently seized.

Scarcely perhaps to be classed strictly with proverbial expressions. It means authority which has been usurped, or grasped by the strong hand.

539 622 565 626 **540. Talafono a Pakava:** Instructions of Bakava.

Bakava was a Fijian chief who used to give instructions to his people that they must not eat the *tava (Pometia pinnata)*, a pleasantly flavored edible fruit, while he held himself exempted from his own "tabu," and freely plucked and ate the forbidden fruit. This expression is applied to a chief who prohibits to his people a privilege which he himself enjoys.

THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

643 178 [The Tui Kanokupolu is a great chief of Western Tongatabu into whose hands regal power was more and more passing with the decline of the Tui Tonga. The birth of several notable warriors and statesmen into this family and the trend of events after the introduction of Christianity have resulted in placing the present constitutional monarchy of the whole Tongan group in the hands of this house. The title of the King or Queen of Tonga is now Tui Kanokupolu.]

539 643 644 431 103 **541. Faka-Pangai:** Pangai fashion.

Pangai is the name of the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu and there are a number of localities scattered through the group which bear this name on account of their association with the Tui Kanokupolu. When presenting food to the Tui Kanokupolu the donors would desire to make their gifts seemly and consonant with the dignity of the great chief. Small gifts, therefore, would be wrapped up in large coverings and placed in capacious baskets. The expression, which is confined to gifts of food, is "applied to small quantities of food put into large baskets." (Baker.)

539 643 644 103 183 521 **542. Koe moa kehe oku uua i Pangai:** It's a different cock that is crowing in Pangai.

Pangai is the name of the place where the Tui Kanokupolu holds his court and has become the proper name of several localities in the Tongan

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group, certainly in many instances, and probably in all, through association with the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression indicates one who has no right to the privilege of speaking in the royal *malae*, or meeting ground. The expression is used, as would be a similar phrase in English, as a rebuke to one who speaks where it would be more seemly for him to keep silent.

543. Laujii faka-Hihifo: Narrow in the western way.

Hihifo, meaning literally the point where the sun sets, is the general name given to the western districts of the various islands. Here the district indicated is the western part of Tongatabu, which is narrow, and whose circumscribed area one might naturally expect to find reflected in a paucity of provisions. It is the seat of the great Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship, and its people by a wise use of their resources never fail to set forth a ceremony or banquet with true chiefly munificence. The phrase is used of those who by their prudence overcome the niggardliness of nature.

544. Nonofo mo Tukuaho kae fie kai gako: Living with Tukuaho yet in want of rich food (literally fat).

This is a very unlikely contingency, for Tukuaho, one of the Tui Kanokupolu who reigned at the close of the 18th century, was a great chief and those in close contact with him would be sure to be well supplied with the best food that the country could furnish. See No. 535 for a similar expression of the belief that the vicinity of the great chiefs was the place to find the best provisions that the country afforded.

545. Oua e tangi ke tatau Don't desire to be equal
Naa ita a Taufaahau: Lest Taufaahau be angry.

Evidently of recent origin, as the use of the name Taufaahau began with the famous George Tupou I, whose name it was. The sense is, smaller folk should not try to make themselves the equals of such a mighty chief.

THE TUI TONGA

[The Tui Tonga and his house were the pinnacles of Tongan nobility, claiming descent from the gods. The sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tui Tonga Fefine, Female Tui Tonga, and had rank superior even to the Tui Tonga himself. Since a Female Tui Tonga who was sister of the reigning Tui Tonga did not lose her rank if her brother pre-deceased her, but held it till her own death, the Female Tui Tonga was either aunt or sister to the contemporary Tui Tonga. The first child of the Female Tui Tonga by one of two special chiefs was the topmost pinnacle of Tongan nobility, particularly if a daughter. This first born child was called the Tamaha. Should a son be born to the Female Tui Tonga and afterwards a daughter it would seem that the daughter was the Tamaha. There appears however to be a little laxity in the use of this title. The actual power of the Tui Tonga has evidently been declining for centuries, and passing more and

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539 524 piece and knock his opponent's piece off the mat, make it jump off the mat, without disturbing his own first piece. If this move is brought off successfully the man who makes it will have two pieces of his own in good positions, and will have put one of his opponent's pieces out of action. Proverbially it means that there is an obstacle ahead but it can be shifted.

HEU LUPE

223 The sport of *heu lupe*, pigeon catching, was carried out on a mound. Trained pigeons were used as decoys, and when the quarry approached near enough it was caught in a large net mounted on a pair of long handles hinged near the bottom end. The man who manipulated the net closed the mouth of it when the pigeon was inside by bringing the hinged handles together.

539 223 **587. Ala i jia ala i kolonga:** Skillful in *jia*, skillful in *kolonga*.

This expression originates in the sport of pigeon snaring. The mound where the snaring was actually carried out is called the *jia* and the place where the work (largely culinary) necessary for the comfort of the sportsmen was done is called the *kolonga*. This expression means literally a man whose energy and ability are equally conspicuous in either place, and is freely used of a good all-round man. [157] [829]

588. Fakalaa i jia melie: Enduring sun on lucky pigeon mound.

Although the principal times for the pigeon snaring are the morning and evening, yet one will put up with the inconveniences of the midday sun if the sport be good. So in any pursuit one will put up with inconveniences and hardships so long as his object is attained. [183]

589. Fakalaa i jia tamaki: Enduring sun in bad pigeon-mound.

The reverse of No. 589; enduring hardship and inconvenience for what after all proves to be not worth the pains. [183]

590. Faka-mui-manoa: At end of tethering cord.

The *manoa* is the cord with which the tame decoy pigeon was tied. However far the pigeon went it could always be traced along the cord, provided that the near end of the cord was still in hand. It is applied to a thing that has been out of sight for some time, but is at last traced up and found.

Another explanation given is that the decoy pigeon has reached its quarry without all the cord running out, there is still more to follow, and it is said to be applied to a conversation or other employment discontinued for the time, but "to be continued in our next." (See No. 591.) [521]

591. Motu manoa: Separated (from) tethering cord.

The cord with which a decoy pigeon is tied has run out to its full length and been let go. Applied to a thing which is finished; there is no more to follow.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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eaves, and left only the door-way open, which was never closed, night nor day.

Such spacious habitations are necessary for the chiefs, whose household, in general, is large, as composed of many attendants. But there are generally small apartments contiguous to the house, in which his wives and children lodge. One of his wives, however, for the most part, slept with him in the same room, in a space, separated from the rest by inclosures of Takkabou, or matting, three feet high, fitted up to the beams, that went across to the centre post, to keep it upright.

The household of Mulkaamair was considerable. He had at different times from four to eight wives, eight sons and five daughters, besides many attendants. The children were all in great subjection to him, and of different rank and dignity, according to the rank of their respective mothers. For family dignity, in Tongataboo, descends not from the father, but the mother, owing, it is probable, to the frequency of divorce, and of illicit intercourse. When the day declined, about seven d'clock, if they were not disposed to dance, they would retire to bed, or, more properly, to recline on their matting.

But when they had retired, the most social employment of the day took place. As they lay reclining at their ease, Mulkaamair and his numerous household, that lay round him, would commence conversations, that amused them till they all fell asleep.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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I have been delighted, for hours, in listening to these nocturnal confabulations, and often very much surprised and improved, by the shrewdness of their observations, and the good sense of their reasonings. When they were all lain down, the chief would say, " Tou tellanoa." " Let us have some conversation." Another would answer, Tou Tellanoa gee aha, i. e. " what shall we talk about." A third would reply, " Tou Tellanoa ge papa langee." " Let us talk of the men of the sky." They called us "the men of the sky," because, observing that the sky appeared to touch the ocean, in the distant horizon, and knowing that we came from an immense distance, they concluded that we must have come through the sky to arrive at Tongataboo.

I have heard them for hours talking of us, our articles, dress, and customs, and entertaining each other with conjectures respecting the distance of the country, whence we came, the nature of it, its productions, &c, &c.

Their patriarchal mode of life, in which the younger and inferior part always surround the chief, as the father of one large family, is calculated much to refine and improve their mental faculties, and to polish their language and behaviour.

The social intercourse and the ceremonious carriage, which were constantly kept up in the families of the chiefs, produced a refinement of ideas, a polish of language and expression, and an elegant gracefulness of manner, in a degree, as superior and

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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175 distinct from those of the lower and laborious clas-
565 ses, as the man of letters, or the polished courtier dif-
fers from the clown. The lower orders used terms
175 of a much meaner and coarser import: the higher
565 orders were so much refined, as often, for amuse-
195 ment, to take off the vulgar by imitating their ex-
pressions and pronunciations. The family of Dua-
tonga, if they spoke to any of the domestics, or visi-
tors, would always be answered, "Ahee," "Yes
Sire", but most others were answered with, "Co-
hou", Yes Sir; this latter term, if pronounced as it
is spelt, would be a polite reply, but if spoken as if
it was spelt Cohaa, it would be very vulgar, and sig-
nify our broad expression "What", and if spoken
to a chief, the man would be struck down for his
rudeness.

175 Their nocturnal conversations would continue till
513 ten or eleven in the evening, till they all fell asleep.
521 Their conversation and comparisons were sometimes
so very droll and ludicrous, that I occasionally burst
out into a fit of laughter which would make them
say "Coe Kata gee aha Balo" What are you laugh-
ing at Balo? "Mannogge abai eyette ge mou tou-
loo." "He is making game of us I suppose". They
called me by the name of Balo.

If one chanced, during the night, to awake, he
would renew the conversation with some neighbour
that might happen to rouse, and then they would
call to each other till they all awaked, and enjoy
another hour's chat.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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the Kava to Duatonga, or any of his family, all of whom are considered sacred, they must sit down cross-legged, before they deliver it out of their hands.

During the preparation of the Kava, the Tomaagee, or principal servants of the chief, are busily employed in an out house built for the purpose, in baking yams. These, as soon as ready, they bring in baskets, made of entwined leaves, and lay them before the chief and the circle of guests as far as they go. They eat these yams after drinking the Kava; and during their meal talk with each other, as they please, on different subjects.

Whenever the lower orders can procure the Kava, they always drink it in companies in this festive manner; in which they often spend the two or three first hours of the morning. They have this pleasure, however, but seldom, as the chiefs generally exact it of them, to drink it with their brother chiefs and their attendants. They exercise an arbitrary power over the lower orders, and have every thing belonging to them in their power, which their sub-officers take from them, without ceremony, as the chief may need. Though the provision they have by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a wretched subsistance, or to resort to the chief, and beg some food. The chief will send his attendants

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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no opportunity therefore, to obtain any close or intimate knowledge of any non-Tongan domestic economy, domestic morals, domestic manners, or domestic relations. What slight knowledge there may be on these topics among the village women is derived almost entirely from Convent schooling or gossip. From this viewpoint our own stay in the village might possibly have added something to the culture of the more observant or curious of the village women.

Economic Life

CONTROL OF LAND

All land in Tonga is ultimately owned and controlled by the Crown. Functionally it is divided into three groups: Government estates, the estates of nobles, and the Royal estates (including those of the Queen and Crown Prince). Of the thirty-nine estates into which Vava'u is divided, seventeen are Government, sixteen are noble, five are Royal and one is the estate of the Crown Prince. Again in theory, each adult Tongan male above the age of sixteen years is entitled to an allotment of 8¼ acres of land from the Government estate for which he pays taxes at the rate of eight shillings per year. Land is not sold to anyone. Applications for the leasing of land are made to the Minister of Lands. Land from the Royal estate or from that of a noble may be acquired by lease and may be inherited in either the male or female line provided the rent of eight shillings per year continues to be paid.

Pangaimotu (the island of Pangai) is Royal estate. Within the limits of Pangai village, the residential sections are nearly all controlled by named households. The bush lands on the islands are divided into sections called *api uta*, more briefly *api* (see Fig. 1), which range in size from eight or nine to sixteen or twenty acres. Each of these bush *api* is leased for the usual rental of eight shillings. As long as the rental is paid, the lessee has full control of his *api* and full right to produce what he pleases thereon. Should the rent, however, be in arrears for three years in succession, the land may be allotted to another individual.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

even though this knowledge is used only for diagnosis and not specifically for treatment. Thus Sane, our housegirl, came to us one morning suffering from pronounced and painful swellings of the hand and arm. Everyone was greatly mystified by these swellings until it was remembered that on the day before, Sane had been gathering wild flowers in the village cemetery. She had noticed us on a nearby beach and had shouted and cried out to attract our attention. This noise had both disturbed, and been highly disrespectful to, the ghosts of the cemetery-dead. They had retaliated by sending swellings to Sane's arm and hand. The swellings disappeared in a day or so, but had Sane consulted a medicine man, the treatment would have been a course of massage. We have no record of any method of laying village ghosts by disturbing or rearranging the bones of a suspected troublesome corpse—a method noted by Collocott.

Many of the villagers are not averse to a consultation with the white doctor provided they do not have to make a two-hour trip to the hospital for this purpose, and provided, too, they are not necessarily expected to carry out the white man's treatment, especially if this treatment is surgical. They do not mind swallowing such medicines as aspirin or sodium phosphate; in fact, they rather welcome the opportunity to do this since the taking of such drugs rather increases their prestige in the community by giving them something of endless interest to talk about with their friends. Fear of the hospitalization and surgery which their government provides for them at no cost is partly a fear based on the novel and new-fangled, partly a fear based on the knowledge that in the past hospitalization has often been equivalent to a death sentence. This latter fear is very real among the villagers and, of course, often well-founded. Irresponsible white medical officers in the past have sometimes thought of their Tongan patients as unprotesting objects upon whom a surgical technique might be polished and refined, irrespective of whether or not immediate surgery was called for, and irrespective of resulting and perhaps unnecessary death.

This and other factors have resulted today in an attitude among many Tongans of going to hospital at so late

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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574 four or more parties were held during the sixteen day period
342 were large; the one in which nine were held is the large
592 house of the village overseer—men drift in there to pick up
584 any late gossip, to discuss island affairs; Biukala's house is
571 large and cool with a spacious verandah where the party could continue even though the household-head retired to an inner room to sleep; in Hausia's house, the eldest daughter, besides being a skilled *kava*-maker, was an attraction to the village youth.

574 Most of the morning and afternoon parties were small
461 and were held at the houses of elderly men (three of them church-pastors, one the village overseer) not actively engaged in daily agricultural work. The evening parties were much larger and usually attended by the men who had been gardening and working during the day. *Kava*-parties are regularly held after Sunday mid-morning church and dinner. They are also customary in the afternoons when the men feel that the seasonal agricultural work is such that a morning's work only in the bush plantations is sufficient.
[276] Visitors to a household from another village are always offered *kava* as a gesture of welcome.

276 The roots used for making the *kava* may either be
432 bought in the village store or else obtained from the plantation. The *kava*-plant is slow growing. Not all men have
[249] the patience to plant, wait for maturity, then dry properly. Nor do all men have the money to spare for store-purchase.
276 Note was made of those contributing *kava*-root to the parties. Some twenty men contributed: nine men once each, five men twice each, five men from four to six times each, and one
276 man fifteen times. This last man is generally considered
574 to be the foremost *kava*-drinker in the village, something of
521 an addict in fact, whose consistent and frequent attendance at *kava*-parties is a matter for village gossip. The gossip
[895] is tempered slightly by the fact that the addict is a school-teacher who can support his household to a large degree by his small monetary income and rely upon the services of his father to look after the household gardens.

574 Frequency of attendance at parties is shown by the next table.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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276 751 [514] *kava* is a mild diuretic. Villagers have plenty of opportunity to notice this effect of *kava* even if they are unclear as to any precise cause and effect relationship between this effect and alleged better health. One reason incidentally, that the villager gives for the rule that the *kava*-making girl should not herself drink is that it would be unseemly for her in the eyes of the men to leave the house frequently to urinate.

276 574 521 [888] The topics that are discussed in the ordinary *kava*-circle are endless in their repetitive rehashing. The state of the cultivations, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks heard from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events— all these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and point of view. The older men carry on the discussion while the younger sit quietly and listen. Sometimes the discussion will be spirited with many taking part. At other times it will die down to muttered conversations between one or two men with others dozing or preoccupied with their own thoughts or busily rolling banana leaf cigarettes from the strong and pungent Tongan tobacco. A pause in conversation comes while a fresh round of *kava* is being made. Then discussion gathers new strength. And so it goes for hours on end, sinking and rising according to the spirits of the participants and the lateness of the hour. Younger men of the village obtain from these *kava*-discussions the elements of a liberal education both in the arts and in the crafts of village life. Sometimes the group will spend part of an evening singing. The songs may be either church-hymns or ancient chants.

276 733 [533] *Kava* is a mild narcotic. Excessive drinking often leads to what can well be termed mild cases of drug-addiction. Seven men and one woman are considered in the village to be extremely heavy drinkers whose continual desire for *kava* is in the nature of an obsession. Other men drink heavily at odd times, but not continuously. The results of addiction, according to informants, are personal laziness, physical weakness and domestic trouble. Night after night spent drinking *kava* is likely to leave the addict lazy and

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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memory, and he glanced at Tukuaho in a very peculiar way.

Soon after this Tukuaho was relieved of his command, and made mayor of his father's town, Mua, some twelve miles from the capital. He had occasion to see the Premier upon matters connected with his duties. The great man was busily writing in his office. After waiting many minutes Tukuaho rose to go, saying that he saw the Premier was engaged. "Sit where you are," replied Mr Baker, "until I am ready,"—and he wrote on as if the safety of the nation depended on his pen. At last he stopped writing, and swung round in his chair. Tukuaho had heard from others of this mode of inspiring awe, and was in nowise disconcerted; he returned the First Minister's fixed gaze. "We are alone: tell me what cause for ill-will you have against me." Tukuaho raised his eyebrows with a mild surprise, and intimated that he did not understand the question, but had come to ask when he was to distribute tax-allotments in Mua. "You know well enough what I mean. Why did you betray me?" said the Premier, coming to the point. "I have much love for you," answered Tukuaho, "and I want you to tell me about Fifita's allotment." From that day Tukuaho was a marked man, but one to be conciliated rather than threatened.

I found him in his new house still unfinished. A *ngatu* screen was suspended across the room, behind which a mosquito-net was visible. A lamp stood upon a trade box, and the corner of the room was piled high with official-looking papers and torn envelopes in hopeless confusion. I made a mental note of an admonition to be

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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administered to my colleague on this head, for any papers left in a Tongan's house are certain to be read by his retainers, who will straightway bruit their contents at every kava-ring in the town, supplying the gaps with imaginative but sensational details. Tungi was sitting in the middle of the floor, and rose to greet me with his usual courtly grace. He seated me on a box, and went to wake his son, who was sleeping off his headache in the mosquito-net. Tukuaho presently emerged looking very unwell, but delighted to see me. He has the same massive head and features as his father; and though only thirty-two, he already shows signs of attaining the ample proportions that no Tongan chief seems to escape. His face is pleasant, though the eyes are set at a peculiar Mongolian angle, very far apart, and the eyelids habitually droop over them. His manners err if anything on the side of showing too great a desire to please, but his conversation in his own language is very intelligent. I had hoped that he and some of my other colleagues could speak English, but I now found that their English was "pidgin," and quite unsuited for conducting diplomatic negotiations with exactitude. It was a serious disappointment, for my knowledge of Tongan was slender, and my experience in Fiji and elsewhere had taught me never to trust to an interpreter in dealing with natives. I had before me the necessity of mastering the language sufficiently to speak in public before I could really begin my work, but fortunately my knowledge of Fijian stood me in good stead; for though the two languages differ more than French differs from English, yet the idiom and metaphor is much alike, as one might expect among races who live under

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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643 644 276 574 576 [554] [554] to be Kaho the chief jailer, and therefore the most important authority after the Governor. The king sat quite silent and impassive except for a nervous side glance of the eyes, which would have given him a suspicious look if it had not been evidently involuntary. Tukuaho had slunk off to the place of dishonour behind the bowl, where some of the attendants were pounding the root on a flat stone that rang out melodiously. This was because his

The king's kava-ring.

father is still living, and no man in Tonga has any titular rank or status until his father be dead. At the king's [521] kava the circle is sacred to chiefs and the *matabules*. For fully five minutes, while the kava was being pounded, not a word was spoken. The thirty or forty men who composed the ring stared straight at the grass, oppressed by a sense of decorum as rigid as the etiquette at St James'. Suddenly, without a word of warning, our *matabule* shouted at the top of his voice to the *matabule* on the king's right,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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643 strainer), and a tassel of the fibres of the yellow hibiscus,
644 in shape and size looking not unlike a deck-swab, was laid
276 floating upon the surface of the kava. The kava-maker
574 now pushed the edges of this strainer carefully down to the bottom of the bowl, drawing it gently towards him, and bringing it up to the rim of the bowl till it overlapped the part that still floated, thus enclosing the fibres of the root in a sort of net. Then drawing the whole to the broad rim of the bowl, he folded it double, and wrung it out till the muddy fluid had slopped back into the bowl, and the strong fibres of the strainer cracked. He now handed it to his companion on the left, who shook it out and combed out the fibres with his fingers before giving it back. This process was repeated until all the fibres of the
[565] kava suspended in the fluid had been removed. These waste fibres, called *efi*, were afterwards pounded again in one of the neighbouring houses by some of the commoners.
● [521] During this operation the most perfect silence was kept.
643 Three men now came into the circle carrying baskets of
644 boiled plantains, which they emptied in a heap on banana-
276 leaves, and, by the direction of the *matabule*, distributed
574 amongst us—two plantains each. Before eating mine I
264 waited to see what the others would do, but no one touched them, and before the end of the ceremony they were swept up and taken away in baskets. In Mariner's time, eighty-seven years ago, they would have been eaten: now the custom has become an empty form, and survived like the buttons on the back of the modern dress-coat.

643 The straining of the kava being now completed, the
644 man at the bowl cried, "*Kuo ma ae kava ni*" (This kava is
276 clear), and the *matabule* answered, "*Fakatau*" (Pour out).
574
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14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

sage on to our *matabule*, who shouted a mangled version of it across the king to the fellow sitting on his Majesty's right hand. This functionary as usual shouted "*Koe!*" to the sea-birds circling over the reef. My letter was then passed to the king, who laid it down without looking at it.

Meanwhile the second brew was being prepared, and although the formalities were sufficiently relaxed to permit conversation, still the king stared straight before him, speaking to no one, and seeming not to hear the conversation which was carried on at speaking-trumpet pitch out of compliment to his deafness. As soon as the cup had gone round again he rose without any warning, passed behind Fatafehi, and stooping over me, extended three fingers of his right hand in welcome, not from any motive of *hauteur*, but because the fourth finger had been sacrificed in his old heathen days to the *manes* of a deceased relative. Then without a word he walked off, carrying rather than leaning on his staff for all his ninety years, and disappeared into the long native house where he was staying. The kava-party at once broke up and went their several ways; and Tukuaho emerged from his humble seat behind the bowl, and led us to a large but ruinous house that had once been the king's palace. This was to be our quarters during our visit. Fatafehi left us here to go to Government House and attend to his executive duties. A glance at that building—we could see it from our verandah—convinced me that whoever may have squandered the public funds, the Governor of Haapai was as guiltless as the Minister of Finance, whose house I had seen in Nukualofa.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

time to examine the three great rooms that formed our quarters. There was a depressing air of decayed grandeur about the worm-eaten furniture and weather-stained floor. A large room at the end became our pantry, and through the reed screen that divided it from the rest of the house came the incessant chatter of a Princess and two ladies from the jail who had been told off to attend to our wants. When not engaged in the menial service of washing dishes, they were drinking kava and retailing the local scandal in an atmosphere reeking with the fumes of *sulukus*. Lest I should seem to boast of my single experience of eating from the hand of a Princess of the Blood Royal, I hasten to add that Charlotte, the lady in question, was a member of Fatafehi's household, and since we were his guests, it was in accordance with native etiquette that she should take charge of the culinary department. She discharged her task admirably, and rang the changes on fried chicken, fried sucking-pig, with baked cocoa-nuts and raw fish[1] for dessert, in the most practised manner.

After luncheon Tukuaho became gloomy. Not a soul had come to greet him, and he was not accustomed to unpopularity. During his last visit, he said, his arm had been tired with shaking hands, and his digestion upset with the quantity of kava he had been obliged to drink with his admirers; but now he saw all his old friends pass the door without looking in. Fat Peter's appearance

[1] Raw fish is described by Mariner as a delicacy, and it was provided at my special request. It is cut up into lozenge-shaped pieces, and washed in salt water. When I had overcome the natural repugnance of the idea, I found it rather good. There is no valid reason why raw fish should be nastier than raw oysters, which it much resembles in taste.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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me appointed one of the Ministers and a member of the Privy Council." 643 645

"Oh, Tubou will do that, of course. We cannot pass it without you. Look here, boy," he said, addressing his leader, "go to Tubou now—he's alone: I saw him as I came up. I will send a policeman to keep the listeners off."

So Tukuaho rather reluctantly girded on a ragged mat and walked down the slope to see his sovereign, and a policeman in a smart uniform tunic and bare legs followed to clear the anteroom. This precaution proved to be useless, for anon we heard the voice of our colleague proclaiming State secrets in a voice that wounded the ear. He came back delighted with himself. The king had laughed more than once. The policeman had seen him laugh and would tell the town: it would have great results. Tubou had told him all about the church he was building, and he told Tubou the news from Tongatabu. It was this that had made him laugh. [291] [576] [521]

"But did he say that he would have a Council?" I asked anxiously, surprised at my colleague's levity.

"Yes, at ten o'clock. I had almost forgotten."

"And did he say that I should be appointed Assistant Premier?"

"Yes, so he did. I am to write a letter of appointment for you."

Then we laid our plans. The new Ordinances must first be passed, and as the king knew that the Privy Council had power to pass Ordinances between the sessions of the Legislative Council, there ought to be no difficulty in persuading him to sign them. Then, if he [651]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

VII.

MEETINGS ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY.

THE politics of Tonga are a never-ending struggle between the *faikava* and the *fono*. In the intervals of the solemn ceremony of kava-drinking the most outrageous scandal is talked, the most startling lies invented,—for kava loosens the tongue-strings without muddling the senses. Were it less cheering and more inebriating it would be politically innocuous, for it is easier to govern a nation of drunkards than a people suffering from the diseased garrulity born of the pepper-root. Kava is drunk in every village in Tonga at least once a-day. Beside the door-post in every house lie the flat and the round pounding-stones whitened with the dusty fibres; and at each gathering, failing the moral character of an absent friend, politics, or church matters—which are so interlaced with politics that they are the more dangerous of the two—are the subject of conversation. To purify the air of the cloud of lies and miscomprehension that the *faikavas* have discharged into it, periodical *fonos* are necessary.

A *fono* is a compulsory meeting of the people to listen to the orders of some person in authority. Before Chris-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

without surprise, for the protection of insects seemed to them quite as reasonable as the protection of birds, or indeed as any other of Mr Baker's statutes.

On our return to Tongatabu we found the air surcharged with the gossip of the *faikava*. Two noblemen and the Government bandmaster, all disaffected for different reasons, had filled the islands with a story that ran as follows: "The Government was lying when it said that it was in want of money, for had not the Premier, when he opened the Treasury, found a bag containing a hundred thousand sovereigns, and hidden them for the use of the Cabinet Ministers? Was he not deceiving the people when he told them to pay their taxes, or their country would be ruined?" "Mr Baker has gone to America, and has told the President what Britain has done, and he will come back in an American man-of-war to try the High Commissioner, and punish his enemies." "A British official is in Tonga to pay Tukuaho for betraying the country, and to arrange for annexation." It was plain that a *fono* must be held to cleanse the political atmosphere.

My colleague did not dare to summon the entire island to a *fono* without the express sanction of the king, so he determined to assemble the mayors from every village, knowing that they would carry an embroidered version of his speech to their constituents. Shortly after sunrise on the appointed day horsemen poured into the town, and tethered their horses outside the disused church at Pangai whither we were called to address them. As we entered the building at the pulpit end a policeman cried "*Koe Palemia*," and the mayors rose and saluted

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

knowledge that effort is useless. Impending misfortune that calls for action is endurable: it is the passive waiting for the bolt to fall that is so hard to bear.

After the first moment of consternation all the paraphernalia of civilisation were thrown to the winds, and for the first time I caught a glimpse of old Tonga. In the presence of death the king's Ministers sank each to the social status his forefathers had held for generations before him. Ata, Lord of Hihifo, who was, politically speaking, a nonentity, became now the chief figure. He with Tungi must be at the dying king's side. Tukuaho and Kubu, having fathers still living, sank into obscurity. The schooners were victualled and loaded far below safety mark with a living freight of chiefs and *matabules*. Tongatabu was left to the care of Sateki and me, for neither of us had concern in the great affairs that were toward. A hush fell upon the island—the hush of a great expectancy. Men spoke to one another in low voices when they met in the street, and all traffic of carts from the plantations was suspended. The houses were all crowded with men and women, even at high noon, always talking earnestly of the time that was coming upon them.

Tukuaho had sailed primed with good advice for all emergencies. I spent two days of great anxiety. On the third a sail was seen in the northern passage. A huge concourse of people had collected on the beach when she brought to, and suppressed excitement was in every face. Scarcely a word was spoken as the dinghy pulled ashore. Would the men never speak? At last the steersman, a grey-haired *matabule*, stood up and cried, "*Oku lelei a Tubou!*" (It is well with Tubou!) and a great sob of

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

alone. Then came the usual presentation of the naval officers, and a promise that the king would visit H.M.S. *Porpoise* on the morrow.

Next morning we sent on shore for the royal standard of Tonga to hoist at the masthead when the king came on board. His Majesty came off in his barge, manned by a crew clad in black jumpers and *valas* fastened at the waist with a red sash, his band playing the Tongan national anthem as he left the wharf. Mounting the gangway alone, he seemed a little bewildered at finding a guard of honour drawn up to receive him, and not a little heated by the weight of his uniform and the orders that plastered it. His suite, consisting of Kubu, Fatafehi, and his aides-de-camp, quite filled the captain's cabin, and being the only medium of communication between hosts and guests, I found the burden of conversation rather difficult, for good manners in Tonga require that on formal occasions chiefs should confine themselves to monosyllables, and have their talking done for them. Once on deck, however, the ball rolled of itself, for the captain had rigged a mine, which the king fired with a button, sending a volcano of water into the air and slaying innumerable fish. The men then went through gun drill with the six-inch

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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563 subject under age, for her father was an English carpenter legally married to a Tongan wife. I could only counsel the love-sick guardsman to win consent from the father, or in the alternative to contain his soul in patience till she was twenty-one. It seemed to be cold comfort, for the father had terminated their last interview by chasing him with a carpenter's adze, and I suspect that by this time the friendly forest has again swallowed up the pair, and the carpenter is abroad with his chopper.

521 203 648 The eaves-dropping nuisance at the palace was little less tiresome than it had been ten years before, when one had to bawl state secrets into the deaf ears of old King George. One morning, while I was explaining the treaty to the king's ministers, I chanced to see in a mirror the reflection of a girl on her hands and knees, with eyes and ears wide open at a chink of the door, which she had pushed ajar. Our eyes met in the glass, and she scurried away like a frightened rabbit, but I was not surprised to hear afterwards that many of my remarks were being quoted verbatim in the town. Accordingly when the king asked me one morning to come into his private chapel to hear an important communication, I understood his reasons. As we

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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crossed the compound he remarked in a loud voice for the benefit of the sentry, "Yes, all that remains of the sacred tree has been inlaid in the state chair like your coronation stone in England. Come and see." Sitting on the two thrones on the daïs we were at last secure from eaves-droppers, and could talk freely. He told me that there were two Tongan words that expressed the feeling of his country towards England—*falala* and *fahi'a*. Rising and leaning against one of the pillars of the aisle, he said, "This is *fahi'a*: then I spring away from it so, and cry, 'Oh! but it won't bear my weight!' and you say, 'Don't be afraid; *falala be ki ai*' ('Lean upon it without fear')" As his mighty bulk thrust against the wooden post, it cracked ominously. It was fortunate that the king is not superstitious, for the post represented England in his metaphor.

The European merchants had a well-founded grievance in their complaints against the premier, my old colleague Sateki. It was not that he was obstinate, or that he was ignorant, though I was assured that the most stubborn Carolina mule might resent being mentioned in the same breath with the Prime Minister; it was that he was no longer incorruptible. There were slanderous

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE TUI TONGA

The Tui Tonga when travelling was frequently borne on a litter, though land on which he stood, or houses into which he entered, did not become tabu and therefore unavailable to their former possessors or users. Mats and cloth which he used seem not to have returned to their former owners, but to have become the property of the Tui Tonga. Such articles he seems frequently to have passed over to his retinue. The tabus surrounding the Tui Tonga's person were of course strict. The London Missionary Society's missionaries who arrived in the *Duff* in 1797 relate that the Tui Tonga going into their house in western Tongatabu requested that they shave him. This ceremony of the toilette was performed, but until everything was safely finished the natives about were in the greatest trepidation lest some of the sacred hair should fall to the ground. The operation of supercision could not be performed in Tonga on the Tui Tonga. He had either to go without the operation or visit Samoa or Fiji for the purpose.

CEREMONIOUS SPEECH

An interesting example of the tabu surrounding the great chiefs is seen in the opening of ceremonial speeches in their presence. The speaker clears away, group by group, the tabus that would prevent his speaking. He says "Tabu for such a one," using an expression which it is exceedingly difficult to render into English, but whose real significance seems to be, "With all due regard to the tabu of So-and-so." This introductory apology having been completed the speaker will say, "It is now permissible for me to go on with my speech." There are two important sets of these tabu formulae, one for the Tui Tonga chiefs and the other for the Tui Kanokubolu, but naturally enough the practice of thus prefacing a speech is widely extended. In sermons, ordinary addresses, and in conversation, anything which the speaker feels should be introduced "saving the presence of" his auditors will be introduced with this apologetic preface. Especially is this the case when mentioning bodily infirmities to a person of superior rank. A commoner would scarcely mention at all a physical defect of a chief to whom he was speaking, at any rate without the license of intimately friendly conversation, but in men-

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

tioning the ailments of himself or of some other person, at last coming to a point where description languishes for lack of an outright term, the dreadfully blunt truth must be told, "Tabu to you," and the exact condition of a leg or an eye is detailed. Matters which are treated with great reticence by Europeans are discussed by mixed companies of Tongans with perfect freedom and complete absence of embarrassment.

INSTALLATION OF TUI KANOKUBOLU

No important ceremony is conducted without kava drinking, and in the preparation and serving of the kava is seen the flower of Tongan ceremonialism. Usages vary in the two great houses of the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokubolu. The modern consolidation of the kingdom has confirmed the power of the Tui Kanokubolu, and the office of Tui Tonga, although the higher in rank, has been abolished. In 1918 the present queen ascended the throne of her island kingdom with the title of Tui Kanokubolu, the title which was borne by her predecessors in the sovereignty of this now constitutional (on European lines) state. Besides a European crowning there was also an installation by the old kava ceremony. This was anciently performed at Kanokubolu, whence the title of Tui Kanokubolu (King of Kanokubolu) is derived. Kubolu is the same word as the Samoan Upolu, and legend asserts that this line is descended from a Samoan woman and a Tongan chief. Kano is a root found in words meaning "flesh," "body." The late Dr. Moulton renders Kanokubolu as "Heart of Upolu." In Kanokubolu the king used to be installed with his back towards a certain tree, and the ancient requirements have been met in modern practice by letting a piece of wood from the traditionary tree into the back of the throne. The water for brewing the kava was on this occasion brought by a great number of runners from a supply a short distance away. So freely and with such obvious intention was water spilt as to suggest a charm, but good Tongan authority asserts that the water was spilt so that each man might arrive at the bowl with but little, and that the whole proceeding might be marked by the maximum of bustle and activity on the part of as great a number as possible to show the numbers and

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren. The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an outstanding feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase. They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used. When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversation about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*. The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting, one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take care of her.

Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece

Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*, the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

Fakafotu have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

312 first were mostly in land and the latter by the shore of the Lagoon and for the most part below high water mark, so that to have the water tolerable it must be taken up at low water.

648 When we returned from our walk, which was not till the dusk of
262 the evening, our supper was ready, it consisted of a baked hog some fish and yams all excellent well cooked after their own method. As
513 there was nothing to amuse us after supper we followed the Custom of the Country and laid down to Sleep, our beds was a large piece of Cloth spread on the floor. The King slept in the same house as well
521 as several others. Long before day break they rose and sat chating by Moon light till it was day light; the conversation, as might well be expected, turned wholy on us, the King entertaining the Company
Frid. 27 with an account of what he had seen. As soon as it was light they all
512 went away, some one way and some a nother, but it was not long before they returned and with them several more. They now began
648 to make a bowl of Cava at which I left them to pay a Visit to Too-
276 bough Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a house hard by, which for size and neatness was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left the others so I found here, a company preparing a Morning draught.
[431] This Chief made me a present of a living hog, a baked one, a quantity of yams and a large piece of Cloth.

276 When I returned to the King I found the company drinking the second bowl of Cava. When it was out the King told Omai he was
765 going to perform a Mourning ceremony for a Son which had been
643 dead some time and desired we would acompany him. We were glad of the oppertunity expecting to see some thing new or Curious.
[292] The first thing the Chief did was to step out of the house, attended by two Women, and put on a new sute of Cloathes, or piece of Cloth, and over it an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all dressed in the same manner, excepting none of
[824] them having quite so ragged a Mat round them as their master.[1] Thus equiped we marched off preceded by about eight or ten persons all dressed in the same manner and with each a small green branch about his neck. The King held his in his hand till we drew near the place of rendezvouse when he tied it about his neck also. Thus we entered a small inclosure, in which was a small neat house and one
[824] man seting before it. As they entered they pulled off the green branch from round their necks and threw them away. After the King was seated the others seated them selves in the usual way before him;

[1] This was the *ta'ovala*, still worn as a sort of sash-apron; the raggedness was not for normal wear, but a sign of mourning.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

continuation of the mourning ceremony by way of condolance, for upon enquiring who it was done for they said it was a chief who had died at Va'vaoo some time ago, that they had practic'd it ever since and would do it for a considerable time longer.

In the evening we had a pig dress'd as the hog with Yams and Cocoa nuts brought for supper, and Futtafaihe finding we did not like the scruples they had made before to accept of any part of the entertainment, ask'd us immediately to share it & give it to whom we pleas'd. When supper was over abundance of cloth was brought for us to sleep in but we were a good deal disturb'd by an odd custom, at least amongst the better people, of being beat while they are asleep. Two women sat by Futtafaihe and perform'd this operation, which is call'd Tooge Tooge,[1] by beating briskly on his body and legs with both fists as if on a drum till he fell asleep, and continued it the whole night with some short intervals. After being asleep they abate a little in the strength & quickness of the beating, but resume it if the person is likely to wake, and towards the morning we found the women relievd each other by turns & went to sleep. In any other country it would be suppos'd such a practice would put an end to all rest, but here it certainly acts as an opiate and is a strong proof of what habit may effect. The noise made by this was however not the only thing that prevented our resting, for the people who slept in the house not only convers'd amongst each other frequently as in the day but all got up in the midst of the night & made a proper meal of fish and yams, which were brought to them by a person who seem'd to know very well the appointed time for such things.

[July 1777]

TUESDAY JULY 1ST. The wind N and NNW. Gentle breezes with fine weather. In the morning we set out with Futtafaihe and walk'd down the east side of the Bay to the point that is opposite Hoolaiva. The country all along this place is very well cultivated but in general not so much inclosd as at the bottom, and amongst many others that are very large we pass'd one plantane field at least a mile long which was in excellent order, every tree growing with great vigour and not a bit of grass to be seen. We found that in travelling Futtafaihe excercis'd a power, though by no means wantonly, which pointed out the great authority of some of the principal men, or is perhaps only annex'd to the royal family; for he sent to one place for fish, to another for yams &c and so on at other places, which were always brought with the greatest readiness as if he had been absolute master

[1] tukituki.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& twirl it about with great celerity so as not to let the balls touch each other; & have a game in which they alternately throw one hand towards each other, closing it quickly & repeating something, at the same time throwing down a bit of stick from several which they hold in the other hand;[1] besides some others, as repeating the numbers by pairs, at each time leaving out the first & taking in another &c. The Children have games peculiar to themselves as throwing up four, five or even six balls so dexterously that they catch them successivily & have never more than one in the hand at the same time, which is chiefly practis'd by the girls. The boys walk with a string drawn through half a Cocoa nut shell on which they put the opening between the great toe and next at the convex part, and hauling up the string take long strides as we do with stilts. They cut a string exactly in the same way as we do a garter, and take off one in various ways from the fingers,[2] with several other things of that kind which differ little from the pastimes of our boys.

We have not yet been able to discover whether their marriages are made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, but it is certain that amongst the bulk of the people Monogamy is the mode of men & women living together, and though the superior sort have commonly several women it does not appear that Polygamy is allow'd to any but their king, though the others are undoubtedly intended to supply the place of several.[3] It seems however of less consequence that the marriages should be rigidly binding where the free intercourse between the sexes amongst the younger sort is not at all reckoned criminal but rather encourag'd. The men in these cases seem to be the proper judges of what ought to be done, and often do not spend much of their time in a tender courtship, a circumstance which might be reckon'd a great rudeness did not the women on their side encourage it by a ready compliance. In short both men and women seem to have little knowledge of what we call delicacy in Amours; they rather seem to think it unnatural to suppress an appetite originally implanted in them perhaps for the same purposes as hunger or thirst, and consequently make it often a topic of public conversation, or what is more indecent in our judgment, have been seen to cool the ardour of their mutual inclinations before the eyes of many spectators. They seem to imagine that the same freedom prevails amongst other nations, at least with respect to us, for they never

[1] Mariner calls this game 'liagi', and says it is 'the first and most important of all Tongan games'; his description is in II, pp. 221–2. *Liaki* means to swing, toss, or fling, but does not now seem to be applied to a game.

[2] Cat's cradle—Tongan *matamatakutenga*—is widespread in the Pacific.

[3] *though the others . . . several*: it is difficult to see what precisely Anderson means by this.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring & sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk, not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in Captn Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them, & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

535 is free. This limited use of the upper legs can also be seen in sitting dances. We have seen in L_{11} that the correct sitting posture has the upper legs almost parallel and close together, and the right lower leg is crossed in front of the upper legs which makes the upper legs inconspicuous.

192 The lower leg is called ya's, and includes the foot and lower leg.
521 The upper leg is called alanga, but I have never heard this word used in conversation. When speaking about dance Tongans speak only about
192 what the ya's are doing. They translate ya's as 'feet' but never as 'legs.'

535 In Tongan dance terminology the upper leg does not exist. Movements of both the upper legs and hips are repressed. Conversely, if
535 a dancer at a very informal occasion wants to be risque, the way to
517 do so, is to move the upper legs and the hips. On the occasion of a moonlight picnic for example, when informal dancing is called for, the most applauded dancer is one who uses her legs in any way not accepted by the Tongans as 'correct.'

535 This ideal is relaxed in the dancing of young girls. For example,
517 one Tongan choreographer set the movements of a dance for four young
858 girls and included one movement where they touched the inside of their knees with their hands. When this dance was taught to a grown woman, this movement was changed by the original choreographer, to touch the upper part of the thigh.

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

that particular occasion. There is no set pattern of *kava* distribution when the King is not there. The only theoretical generalization that one can make for all non-*Taumafa kava* drinking sessions is that "the *kava* is distributed according to the agreed upon rank of those individuals present." This admittedly low-level generalization is true whether we term all non-*Taumafa kava* sessions either *'ilo kava* ceremonies or *fai-kava* sessions.

For particular non-*Taumafa kava* sessions when individuals cannot agree in advance upon their relative rank *vis-à-vis* one another, they then avoid one another at certain *kava* sessions. For early-contacted Tonga this behavior is quite clear from the account of the French navigator Dumont D'Urville in Tonga 1827. He wrote about the rarity of certain *kava* sessions because of the lack of certain major individuals and:

> above all because of the claims of Palou [also known as Fatukimotulalo, an important and powerful and non-titled individual] and Tahofa [also known as Fae], who took care to avoid any [*kava*] gatherings where they could not occupy the highest place (MS:10).

In contemporary Tonga, elaborate genealogies (both real and fictive) are often traced out for seating positions in non-*Taumafa kava* sessions. Some changes have taken place in all *kava* sessions since the advent of Europeans and, briefly stated, in aboriginal Tongan society the "rank" for a *kava* circle was determined on the basis of the personal rank of the individual whereas in contemporary Tongan society it is the rank of the "title" which an individual has which is the determining factor in seating (and drinking) arrangements.[3]

What is important for all *kava* drinking in Tonga is [1] that it occurs today and [2] the basic structural features (bowl, circle, and relative order of serving) have remained essentially stable over the years. The non-*Taumafa kava* sessions serve as a "safety valve" for Tongan society and provide a frequent chance to discuss the latest gossip, rumors, or general conversation. The Beagleholes pointed out in their 1941 work that the topics of conversation in an informal *kava* session frequently deal with:

> the state of cultivation, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events all [of] these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and point of view (1941:20).

In brief, an informal and small-sized *kava* session is not an extremely spectacular event, much like the drinking in a tavern or bar among good friends. The *Taumafa kava*, on the other hand, provides Tongans with a particular focal point for their own identity and is discussed below.

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongans and Europeans

When the Wesleyan Missionaries first arrived in Tonga in the early nineteenth century the role (and fate) of the Christians was often a topic of heated discussion at various *kava* sessions. The following example from a missionary in the islands from August 16, 1822, to October 3, 1823, makes this quite clear:

> At the Cava Ring this morning [Nov. 29, 1822] there were several speeches delivered very prejudicial to our peace. Mafee [making the] Malanga [speech] said that the white people were come as spies and would soon [be] followed by others from England who would take away all Tonga from them. "See, said he, "These people are always praying to their Atuas [*'otua*], as the other Missionaries [of the London Missionary Society in Tonga from 1797 to 1800] were; and what was the consequence of their praying? Why, the wars broke out and all the old chiefs were killed." Malabow one of the Matabolles related his dream, the burden of which was that the old chiefs came back from Boolotoo last night, and seeing the fencing of our garden, said, "What is that?" They were answered, "It is the white people's Ahey [*'api*], or place of abode." Upon which, they became much displeased, and said, "The white people will pray you all dead." Much more to the same purpose was said in the Cava ring party. The multitude believed all and are much dissatisfied with us (Walter: November 29, 1822).

In the nineteenth century, *kava* drinking sessions were a way of discussing current affairs and maintaining Tongan unity in the face of missionary influence on Tongan life. One European non-missionary observer of nineteenth century Tongan life wrote:

> The practise of kava-drinking seems to be falling much into disuse, particularly among the Christians, who are not encouraged to continue it by the [Wesleyan] missionaries (Erskine 1853:149).

The missionaries were opposed to *kava* drinking yet the Tongans continued drinking. The *kava* ceremonies clarified the basic cultural problems (and rules) of Tongan society and, as such, the ceremonies were difficult to eliminate. John Thomas, a Wesleyan missionary in the islands from 1826 to 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859, also provides us with some information concerning the discussions at the *kava* ceremonies regarding the missionaries:

> The King was not at school this morning. Several others were [also] kept away at a cava party. I learned from an Englishman at this place that various things are talked about [at the kava parties] of an unfavourable nature respecting us, calculated to grieve us if we were strangers to the devices of Satan and the fallen state of the heathen [or non-Wesleyan Tongans]. But we leave these things to the Lord who will give us strength (1830: Letter-Journal).

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

as much as possible in the idiom of titles and their genealogical seniority.

The third major point about the ceremony is that *it expresses a fundamental contradiction.* We were first alerted to this aspect of the ceremony by comparing the many different social contexts in which it takes place. One thing all these social situations have in common is a confrontation of people of different status. In everyday life these people can be expected to harbour feelings of jealousy and resentment about their differential privileges. At the same time, in spite of the antagonisms, during the ceremony there is a strong feeling of being at harmony together in a group. As Tongans put it, 'You do not drink kava with an enemy.'

In brief, the ceremony says, 'We are all united,' but it also says, 'We are all different.' And the element of difference contains another contradiction, for it makes two contrary communications. It says, 'We are differentiated and interdependent,' but it also says, 'We are unequal. Our titles differ in seniority. And some of us do not have titles at all.' In other words the kava ceremony expresses ambivalence – the simultaneous presence of contradictory feelings. I do not mean that each participant in the ceremony becomes consciously aware of the sort of emotional ambivalence that I have described. Most people seemed to be more aware of feelings of unity and harmony than of feelings of antagonism and rivalry – or at any rate more willing to talk about feelings of unity and harmony. The feelings of antagonism showed themselves more in what people did than in what they said. At formal ceremonies we observed many minor breaches of *tapu.* One's hands should be clasped in one's lap throughout the ceremony, for example, but our photographs show that people often moved their hands about. Similarly people are not supposed to talk in a very formal ceremony, but people were whispering away almost all the time – usually uncomplimentary remarks about the way the ceremony was being conducted.

Within the prescribed events of the ceremony there is only a

/69 cont./

his head in the mirror, without being actually stopped by their parents.

The brother-sister taboo has remained stronger among all classes, although it too has been eased. Brother and sister may not, for example, sleep in the same house if they are more than nine or twelve years old. This taboo is still commonly observed in Tongan-style houses, and another small house is built for the sons, while the daughters may sleep in the house of the parents. In the European-style wooden houses one may occasionally observe this custom being relaxed, with the siblings sleeping in different rooms (with closed doors) of the same house. According to the ancient taboo, the brother was not permitted to come to the house of the sister, nor the latter to the brother's house. This prohibition has been relaxed; for the siblings may go enter each other's dwelling by example, the sister wishes to enter the room in which her brother is sitting, near the entrance, she enters through another entrance, and her brother does not remain lying down or casually sitting, but gets up, straightens out his vala, and then sits down with properly crossed legs. The taboo against brother and sister eating together has been relaxed to the extent that the siblings may partake of a meal in the same place and at the same time, but they must not sit next to, or near, each other. Whereas in old times, brother and sister were not permitted to converse, and necessary question always had to be asked from outside through the hut's wall and answered from inside, today they speak together freely, but by no means about off-color subjects, and they conscientiously avoid all "bad words." According to the old brother-sister taboo, they were also not permitted to go for a walk together. Nowadays, this sometimes occurs.

This noticeable weakening of both the child-father taboo and the

/101 cont./ The men gathered together

276 574 521 (usually between five and fifteen) talk. The older ones speak about their plantations and their remarkable harvests or setbacks, or about fishing and the various methods employed. They will also discuss in detail the special events on the island and in the Archipelago, and from minor and harmless occurrences the most exciting stories may develop. The younger ones take part in these conversations, or they will chat with the girl preparing the kava. (282)

282. She does not drink the kava and may not leave her seat throughout the entire session; once she goes out, another girl must continue in her stead.

(533) Sometimes the younger ones may sing, and then the quiet, even conversation of the older ones will cease. While new kava drink is prepared and served again and again, the group stays together, from early evening, for example, until far into the night, sometimes even until daybreak. In this case, the old custom is sometimes observed that the men, on the next day, will prepare a large earth-oven (possibly with a pit) as "compensation" for their wives, and the wives will give them gifts of tapa and mats.

276 574

(431)

There are no special houses for kava circles within the village. Every house of a specific minimal size is suitable. In every village there are several kava gatherings in different houses every day (especially in the evening). In general, the men do not go regularly to a specific kava circle; the houses as well as the members of the groups change, and this fulfills the essential function of kava drinking, namely, to unite the male members of the village community beyond all separation through family life and the religious affiliation, in any combination and at any time.

(182) (621)

276 574 461

Not only in these free social gatherings, but also on all special occasions kava drinking is a necessary accompaniment. At every type of community work in the village, for example if a few

/279 cont./

871 truly beneficial only for the small group of natives who find employment
876 in the government, in the church or in trade.
[177]

The transmission of European knowledge outside the schools is very
177 slight. There is no Tongan secular literature. The natives have few
[538] radios. Newspapers and magazines only occasionally come into the hands
[209] of the Tongans. In Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu and Neiafu/Vava'u they can see
[204] films in small cinemas. The few natives working among whites (mission-
[546] aries, teachers, physicians, administrative employees, traders), as attentive observers, become acquainted with all kinds of European ideas.
[521] But the majority of Tongan men and women, after having attended school, are dependent for an increase in their knowledge on face-to-face conversations, especially at the evening kava circles in the villages; and in this case actual knowledge is mixed with exaggerated tales and wild rumors.

871 Seen as a whole, the natives of this Archipelago doubtless know
828 more than is needed for life on their small islands. /280/ This is not
177 to be traced back solely to the school system as such, but actually
181 to the lively eagerness to learn on the part of many Tongans. Their
185 pleasure in learning is above all the result of the natives' so typical interest in everything new and worth knowing. Added to that is the desire to share in the superior world of the whites. Moreover, since "education" has become a measure of value within the community, the desire for recognition of the individual strengthens the general eagerness to learn. Ultimately this is also very much furthered by democratization, since commoners are now able to achieve special
871 positions through proper training. Almost the entire population of the
181 Archipelago has a positive attitude toward the modern school system.
186 Most elementary pupils probably have the ambition to go on to one of the very respected colleges, (759)

759. After their final examination the young natives